/342 cont./

243 Wives accompany their husbands to the fields. They
462 spend the day there spinning, sewing, grilling ears of corn, or
[482] roasting maize. In the evening, if they return to the village,
the wife comes back bent under the weight of her afiapoka, or
carrying-net, full of ears of corn. Sometimes the men help
[482] them. Those who have donkeys and horses use them as beasts
of burden.

482 Transport of corn is done generally with the help of the carrying-net, but makeshifts let them do without it in case of necessity. The ears of corn are held together in bundles by means of leaves which encompass them and are suspended from a flexible switch bent in the shape of a figure eight. When the two loops are balanced, one can raise them by grasping them by the middle.

251 In the village the corn ears are either stored in granaries on poles, to which steps cut in a tree trunk (Fig. 9) lead, or kept in the hut where a special corner has been made into a compartment. A tree trunk tipped with a natural fork may serve /Plate VII appears here/ /343/ as a storage place for corn. The ears, tied into bundles, are piled between the two branches of the fork (Fig. 10).

243 Formerly, before their dreadful decline began, the
789 Chiriguano had recourse to magical ceremonies to hasten the ripening of corn and to avoid drought or too great an abundance of rain. /Fig. 9 appears here./

When the sun threatened to burn the harvest, they had one or several medicine men come who were charged with bringing the recalcitrant clouds. Provided with a cigar, they went around the fields blowing the smoke in every direction (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 167). The symbolism of this rite of homeopathic magic is clear: the smoke represents the clouds which the ipaye is to gather.

[342] [718] The game of ñikoti represents the survival of a magical ceremony having to do with the growth of corn and its maturing.

[Text Continues on P. 98]

/354 cont./

372 small stick was too short to be handled with ease, he fastened it securely to another stick by means of vegetable fibers (embira) (Fig. 25). This done, he sat down on the ground, pressing the soles of his feet on the small cupped stick, and imparted with the palms of the hands a rotating movement to the other stick. The glowing sawdust which was detached by the effect of the friction fell on dried dung placed near the gadget to serve as tinder, which, at the end of a rather short time, began to catch fire.

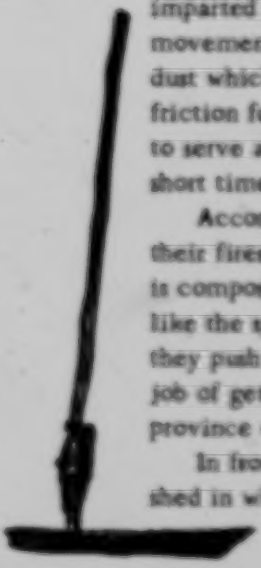
354

According to the season, the Chiriguano light their fires inside the hut or outside. The hearth is composed of long branches which they lay out like the spokes of a wheel. As the ends burn, they push them closer to the central fire. The job of getting the dead wood falls within the province of the men (Fig. 76).

[462] [313]

343

In front of the huts they often erect a little shed in which the women do the cooking. The roof of this shelter serves as a shelf for putting provisions and utensils on.



[372] ← Fig. 25. Ancient apparatus for making fire, reconstructed by a modern Chiriguano. Prov.: Caruruti. (1/6 nat. size.)

Preparation of Food

262 The modern Chiriguano do not seem to observe any food prohibitions, at least in daily life, for the custom of fasting, for women at the time of puberty and for men upon the birth of a child, is not yet lost. In olden days certain animals /355/ were taboo (1). The men of a few villages thus reserved for themselves

[289] [825]

[775]

1. In order not to kill one of their dead relatives transformed into a fox, the Chiriguano

/365 cont./

273 The preparation of chicha is not play: it is necessary not
only /366/ to grind an enormous quantity of corn, but again to go
484 ceaselessly to get water, often at a great distance. At Cururuti
482 the nearest potable water was at the bottom of a ravine of partic-
293 larly difficult access. The women were constantly going there
with an iru (Plate XVII. 1), which they carried on their backs in
a net (aŋapoka) held on the forehead by a strap. They would fill

462
516
273
291
415
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Fig. 31. Woman sifting corn which she has just ground in the mortar beside her. This flour is to be roasted, then chewed to serve as ferment for aŋwi. Cururuti. (Photo. A. M.)

484 the jug and, loading it with difficulty, would go back up the
482 steep slope doubled over under the weight. So as not to lose any
273 time, these hard-working creatures would take along a calabash
full of ground corn which they continually chewed.

273 The ground corn is cooked in water and constantly stirred
412 with flat sticks whose edges used to be cut out with a certain
[198] artistic care in olden days (Fig. 32). Today a kind of oar (Fig.
[239] 33) or the scapula of an ox (Fig. 34) fastened to a long handle
[531] replaces the ancient utensils in which was manifested so well the
Chiriguano tendency to decorate even the most humble objects.

[For plate XVII, See Category 116, P. 129--Analyst]

/266 cont./

293 126 It is not so easy as one thinks to observe in detail the preparation of kĩwi, and I am still at a loss to describe the stages in their exact sequence. This difficulty is due to the fact that kĩwi is prepared over several days (generally three or four), and it is /Plate XV appears here/ /267/ difficult to be on the spot all the time so as not to miss any detail. Besides, as different families do not begin to prepare kĩwi at the same time, confusion results: and it is hard to know at what point of the operation one finds oneself. Apparently I am not the only one to have come up against this obstacle, for it is enough to read the various descriptions devoted to this important occupation to become aware that they are far from agreeing.

[118]

293 462 At the moment when the water is at the boiling point in the big vats, the burning pieces of wood and the live coals are scattered, and the corn flour is poured in, being stirred vigorously so that it will not form lumps. While this operation is performed, other women have pounded fine a certain quantity of corn, sifted it, winnowed it to rid it of any impurity, then roasted it in a large potsherd. As this flour is taken off the fire, the women chew part of it and spit this into a calebash. This paste impregnated with saliva is called tamĩu. According to Nino (p. 268), the Indian women mix the tamĩu with the corn broth which is cooking in the vats and with which they fill a pot. The woman who busies herself with this mixture (ouapiri) allows it to fall back in from a certain height "to give it sweetness."

[412]

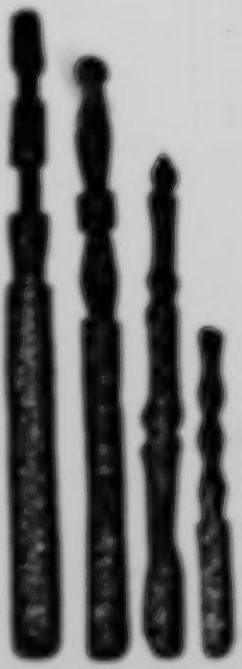

Fig. 27. Sticks for stirring the kĩwi while it is cooking. No. 1 comes from Tigüipa; No. 2 from [illegible]; Nos. 3 and 4 from [illegible] (Upper Pilcomayo). (1/2 nat. size.)

Mexique-170 E-5 (1970) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF 95

/271 cont./

The umapirai is added to the kâwi, which from this moment on is subjected to intense cooking. A large, bright fire is lighted around the vat containing it and burns day and night; the women go to stir it from time to time to keep it from sticking.

At night the village of Caraparí has a strange look: over the open square in front of the huts high flames rise, against which are outlined in black the silhouettes of the women who, busy and hard-working, do not take time to sleep. The next morning the fire is allowed to go out and the kâwi to cool. It is then decanted into vessels of smaller dimensions, and all the women, including little girls, assemble to take handfuls of the marc and chew it, one trying to outdo the other. These balls, sticky with saliva, are spit back into the vessel. A rather large amount of cold water is added to the kâwi, and right afterward comes the bottling, if I may so express myself. The kâwi is strained through a very fine-meshed sieve. The marc, or sirini, /268/ is thrown away or used again. The beer, or pale wine, is distributed into vessels which are carefully closed with a calabash or bowl, and this liquid is left to ferment for two or three days. So that it may be completely protected from the air, the line of contact between the vessel and its cover is smeared with clay.

Fig. XI. Oar for stirring kâwi during cooking. Prov.: Pilcomayo. (1/8 nat. size.)

Fig. XII. Shovel ending in an ox scapula which the Chiriguano use for stirring kâwi. Prov.: Pilcomayo. (1/8 nat. size.)

273 412 b

273 412

[239]

/371 cont./

415 531 Certain vessels (Fig. 35) have the exterior surface entirely covered with these depressions obtained by pressure of the thumbnail. The Indians call this decoration tatupire, that is "armadillo carapace." /Fig. 37 appears here/ a completely justifiable comparison.

One can consider as an evolution of the process of ornamentation by finger impressions the angles or chevrons which decorate the outside surface of the vessel of Figure 2, Plate XVI /see p. 125/, which have been incised in the soft clay with a pointed instrument. This type of ornamentation can be reduced to its simplest expression: thus on the neck of the vessel of Plate XVII. 2 /see p. 127/ it is limited to a row of little cavities made with a pointed stick. The small vessel of Figure 36 /see p. 128/ with a belly flattened from top to bottom belongs, from the decorative point of view, in the same category.

415 531 191 On another vessel (Plate XVI, 1) the small nipples which project /372/ all around the belly constitute a summary decoration which completes that of the neck formed by finger-nail impressions. Pots of this type are found among the Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 65, p. 218).

This decoration is exceptional in South America. Jijon y Caamaño (p. 6) considers it characteristic of the northern part of Ecuador. He points out its distribution in Central America and in the Mound region in the United States.

[126] The iru of Plate XVIII, Fig. 2 /see p. 131/ has the exact shape of a calabash: this resemblance was intentional, for the Indian woman who sold it to me presented it at the same time as the calabash which /Fig. 38 appears here/ had doubtless served as a model. Vessels which are almost replicas of this specimen have been found at Jachal and Calingasta in San Juan province in Argentina (Ambrosetti, 1, Plate VII, and Debenedetti, 3, Fig. 41, p. 69).

415 [126] 415 323 The Chiriguano call the vessels in which the women draw the water they need for their households by the Quichua name iru. The iru are characterized not only by their more or less globular shape and the narrowness of the neck on top, but also by the quality of the paste from which they were

1: Métraux--250 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Arawakan Indians SR6

000 /427 cont./
C which preceded Inca culture. If one compares the present-day
531 pottery of the Chiriguano with that of the Quicha /Quechua/ of
171 Cuzco, certain analogies will appear, but they will be neither
105 abundant nor conclusive enough to establish a direct filiation. Aryballuses are missing or rare, ornithomorphic dishes seldom found, etc.; on the contrary, we have seen how multiple and close the ties are between this pottery and that of the Chincha-Atacama period. Chiriguano pottery, in relation to that of Cuzco, is in a situation analogous to that of northwestern Argentina: on an Andean but original base, influences from Cuzco have been superposed. This Inca action on the Chicha is attested to even today by /428/ the presence among the Chiriguano of footed vessels of the purest Inca type and apodal ones of the same origin. Arising from the same influence, one may add certain decorative motifs, with which I have already dealt.

A
[531] Arawak and Amazonian tradition is scarcely represented, ex-
[171] cept by footed bowls (compoteras), vessels with a ribbed belly,
[415] those with a body in the shape of a truncated cone and a sub-spherical belly, and perhaps by some motifs (T-shaped figures, Plate XXXVIII, 1).

The conclusion of this chapter will be: there exists today and for some years to come a civilization which, closely related to that of the Chicha, continues an art earlier than that of the Inca but influenced by them. May this fact make archeologists cautious!

Chapter VII

Calabashes

C
531 The second art in which the Chiriguano excel is pyrography
462 and engraving on calabashes. When pottery-making was an
[323] essentially feminine activity, pyrography was the province of the
C men. Nordenskiöld (9, pp. 233-236) thinks, completely
114 wrongly it seems to me, that pyrography is of Andean origin. He
531 advances in support of this opinion the advantages that knowledge
171 of metal offers to this art. Nevertheless, the populations of the
194
000

1: Métraux--265 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Diaguita SE-6

C 531 191

/429 cont./

(Boman, 2, Vol. II, Plate LXXV, Fig 188 c) reappears nearly identical on the pretty calabash of Plate LXII, 2.

C D 531 191

I can give no better argument in favor of the close analogy between the calabashes of the Andean region and those of the modern Chiriguano than by publishing the calabash of Plate LXII, 3 a and b, found in Diaguite territory in Catamarca province ("La Quebrada," Valle del Cajón). Its decoration is composed of incised and finely reticulated bands on a blackened background. The hooks which leave from the circle

Fig. 84. Incised and pyrographed calabash. Prov.: Caratindi (Igüembé Valley). (About 1/2 nat. size.)

engraved on the top of the calabash and the sides of the latter strangely recall analogous motifs we have seen on Chiriguano specimens.

C 531 191

The spiral, which seems to have been a motif especially dear to the pyrographers of northwestern Argentina and the Atacama Desert, does not occur on any of the specimens in my collections, if one does not want to consider as rudiments of spirals or as degenerated spirals the hooks we see on some Chiriguano calabashes (Plate LXI, 2). It is interesting to ascertain that the spiral and the voluted triangle of Andean calabashes are typologically closely related to analogous motifs which the Chiriguano women of the upper Pilcomayo paint on their vessels. If these designs have been better preserved in pottery than in pyrography, it is doubtless due to the fact that the first art has remained closer to its origins. The women, who have the monopoly of it, are more conservative than the men, who decorate the calabashes.

C [323] [462]

197
531 /430 cont./ Let us not forget that
[462] pyrography is a masculine activity and that men are more
[167] open than women to every innovation. Moreover, for the most part they have gone to Argentina, and from there, with a new turn of mind, they brought back models and inspirations foreign to their ancient tradition. This European influence is patent in many cases: thus, the calabash of Plate LXVII, 3, and the one of Plate LXIX, 1, are decorated with Arabic numbers. The calabashes of Plates LXIV, 1, LXV, 1 and 5, and LXIX, 5, are decorated with stylized flowers or stars which are not Indian at all. The influence of the white men and their bad taste is evident in the motifs painted in roucou which decorate the calabash of Plate LXV, 3.

531 Anthropomorphic or zoomorphic representations are commoner on calabashes than on pottery. A rough drawing of a man greatly schematized /431/ is represented on the calabash of Plate LXIII, 1 a and b. On the calabash of Plate LXIII, 2 a, dogs have been engraved and birds on those of Plates LXIII, 1, LXVIII, 3 a and b, LXIX, 2, and LXXI, 3. A llama was represented in very expressive fashion on calabash No. 2 b on Plate LXIII; and on the calabash of Fig. 85 a and b one recognizes a horse and a feline animal, a puma or jaguar. Three fish and a bird appear on the specimen of Plate LXVII, 2.

531 The Indians of the Ivu mission and the ones from
322 the Caipipendí valley paint their calabashes with roucou.
386 This color is very difficult to rub off and does not spread beyond the periphery of the colored designs. /Fig. 86 appears here. To obtain this result, the Chiriguano begin

/468 cont./

412 171 At La Paya, Ambrosetti (6, Fig. 254, p. 484) discovered combs cut out of a small wooden board and some composite combs. Instead of simply recording the coexistence of two different types of combs /Plate LXXXVII appears here/ /469/ in the same place, a very natural phenomenon by reason of the heterogeneous character of the culture of La Paya, Ambrosetti puts forth the strange hypothesis that these combs served for carding wool, without taking the trouble to inquire whether this instrument was known in pre-Columbian times.

303 322 The making of combs, like all wood carving, is an essentially masculine job.

462 412 The table on Plate LXXXVII indicates my idea of the morphological evolution of the different forms of combs which I have collected.

412 174

Chapter XII

Furniture

352 [114] Since the diverse cultural elements which constitute the furniture of the Chiriguano have been completely studied by Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 8-22), I shall limit myself to mentioning them here, insisting only on several details. /Fig. 124 appears here./ /See p. 338./

[342] Let us enter a Chiriguano hut. The door we open is a kind of screen of reeds or a cowhide hardened in the sun. Daylight penetrates the interior through this opening. The only important

[513] piece of furniture is a wooden cot (Fig. 125), a kind of bedstead generally occupied by two persons between whom one or two children come /470/ to slip in somehow or other. Nor do the Chiriguano hesitate to sleep on the ground on an oxhide, which they spread out in front of their house. On the upper Pilcomayo, in nearly all the huts one can /Fig. 125 appears here/ /See p. 339./ see one or two hammocks which serve either as seats during the day

[286] [177] or as cradles for small children. Their technique, that of the double thread (Doppelfadentechnik), continues an old Guarani

[Text Continues on P. 338]

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

are based on a triangle surmounted by a scroll, which is multiplied in countless variations.

Women potters (pl. 41, *top, left,* and *bottom, left*) tempered the clay with crushed potsherds and built up their vases by coiling. They painted them with several kinds of ocher and with black obtained from resin.

Spinning and weaving.—Among the *Chiriguano*, wool is more commonly used than cotton for textiles, but *Chané* fabrics are generally of cotton. The fibers are spun with a drop spindle weighted with a clay whorl (pl. 42, *center*). Although garments are in part Andean in shape, the loom remains of the vertical type. Formerly, indigo was the favorite native dye; today aniline dyes have entirely replaced it. The ornamentation of the fabrics is limited to a few stripes.

Netting.—Fishing nets and carrying nets are made by means of a wooden gage in a reef-knot technique.

Basketry.—Fans, round baskets with overlapping lids, and sieves are twilled with palm leaves in the best Guiana fashion, but wickerwork basketry is very common. No large baskets for carrying or storing food are made.

Gourds.—The painted, incised, or fire-engraved (fig. 61) gourds (*Lagenaria siceraria*) used as cups are, after pottery, the best expressions of *Chiriguano* art. The motifs are mainly geometrical, with occasional realistic representations.

FIGURE 61.—*Chané* calabashes. *Left:* Specimen with lid (approximately ¼ actual size). *Right:* Pyrograved specimen (approximately ⅓ actual size). (*Redrawn from* Nordenskiöld, 1920, fig. 50 and Métraux, 1930 b, pl. 62.)

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

the warriors, whom orators constantly exhorted to fight. The main tactic was to surprise and not to be surprised. Scouts were sent ahead of the army and sentries were placed on guard at night. The attack was carried out at dawn. During the battle, the women of the attacked village danced and sang to help their men resist. The victorious party returned with the heads of their slain enemies, which were subjected to all sorts of outrages.

CANNIBALISM

In the past, prisoners were ceremonially killed and eaten. The victims were usually the *Chané*, of whom, according to Lizárraga (1909, p. 552), the *Chiriguano* had eaten about 60,000 during the 16th century. Warriors delivered the captives to their children, who shot them with arrows. Prisoners whom they spared were incorporated into the *Chiriguano* tribe. In more recent times, the prisoners who were not put to death were kept as slaves.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Musical instruments.—*Chiriguano* musical instruments are mainly copies of European or Andean instruments, such as the transverse flute. The transverse flute is Spanish, but the quena or end flute (pl. 43, *bottom*) is Andean. Among the most prized possessions of these Indians are round wooden whistles with two stops, and sereres, elongated pieces of wood, perforated lengthwise and blown by stopping the lower aperture (fig. 59, *d*). The clarinet with a slit reed tongue and the cowhorn bell are post-Columbian. The hide-covered drums beaten during feasts is of Spanish origin. Panpipes occur only among the *Chané* of the Parapetí River.

Dances.—Dancers of each sex form a separate line, holding hands with their neighbors. Under the leadership of a master of ceremony who beats time with a feather tuft, men dance on the same spot by bending the knee slightly while women move forward and backward or dance around the men, shaking rattles.

Drinking bouts.—Drinking bouts, in which enormous quantities of chicha are consumed, are attended by friendly communities, which are ceremoniously invited.

Narcotics.—Formerly, tobacco was grown in small quantities by the *Chiriguano* for ceremonial purposes. Today some *Chiriguano* smoke cigarettes, but seldom the pipe. A pre-Hispanic clay pipe was unearthed by Nordenskiöld at Caipipendi. Only a few *Chiriguano* who live near the *Quechua* chew coca, which, however, they do not cultivate.

Fermented drinks.—Maize chicha is the favorite beverage of the *Chiriguano*, who practically subsist on it during the weeks following harvest. Its preparation, entrusted to women, is a lengthy and com-

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

plicated affair: the grains are crushed in the mortars, and chewed flour is added to the meal, which is thoroughly boiled for many hours in large jars. The *Chané* of the Parapeti River make a fermented beverage of sweet potatoes.

Gambling.—*Chiriguano* and *Chané* are acquainted with the suka game of the Chaco Indians, which undoubtedly has an Andean origin.[9] Another favorite dice game is called chukareta: a bunch of sticks with one face concave and the other convex are thrown to the ground, after one of the partners has chosen one of the sides. If, e.g., the thrower has decided on convex, all the sticks with the convex side up go to him. The one wins who gets most sticks (Nordenskiöld, 1920, p. 99).

European dice games are also known. The dice are of bone or clay and have special markings. Many *Chiriguano* ruin themselves at the famous taba game of the Mestizos. It is played with an ox astragalus, which is thrown in turn by the gamblers, who bet on which side the bone will fall.

Games.—Young boys acquire marksmanship by shooting at a rolling wheel. Boys also play hockey, as do their neighbors of the Chaco. They also hurl darts made of a stick and a corn husk. A popular game among children consists in casting a stick so that it rebounds. The one who throws it farthest scores a point, and the first to score eight points in succession wins (Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 197).

They also throw at each other a shuttlecock made of maize leaves and strive to keep it in the air as long as possible.

Formerly, the *Chané* of the Parapeti River, like so many Guiana tribes, played a ball game with rubber balls which they batted with their heads. They seem to have used two kinds of rubber balls, black solid ones and white hollow ones which they obtained from the region of Santa Cruz or from the Province of Chiquitos.

Chiriguano women had a game (itarapoa) in which they threw a stone ball or a hollow clay ball filled with pellets at rows of maize grains placed by twos, one above the other.

Small children whirled tops made of a calabash or played with wax or rag dolls.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

During 200 years of close contact with missionaries, many Christian concepts have crept into *Chiriguano* religion. Tumpa, or Ivadupoba ("Our Creator"), is commonly held to be the "real god." Aguaratumpa, the Fox God, is a mythological trickster with some features of a culture hero. He was regarded by many missionaries as the functioning god of the *Chiriguano*. There is some evidence of a solar cult, just as there is among the *Guaraní*. Aboriginally, the *Chiriguano* were mainly concerned with "iya," nature spirits, and with "ana," the souls of the dead.

[9] The dice are made of four pieces of wood, flat on one side and convex on the other. The rules of the game are described in the chapter about Chaco games (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 337).

/173 cont./

342 The canes, or sticks, are attached in the same way as in the roof, with the difference that for the walls they are put in double order, outside and inside, so that they can serve as a support for the dampened earth, which in the end is like a large bag, long and tall, around the house. This other work [462] is done by the Indian men, engaged beforehand by the promise of chicha; next they too dig in the wet soil /174/ dampened by the rain or by water, and help the women in the operation of forming the walls.

With such simplicity, the four walls are raised in a single day, everything being completed; at the present time almost all houses have a gallery where the men and women always sit to enjoy the cool of the mornings and the evenings in friendly gatherings, a gallery which is even used for sleeping on excessively hot nights, especially when inside there is an abundance of vinchucas and other insects (1).

346 492 1. In Parapiti a school for 150 girls was built and finished in 12 hours; nothing had been prepared for this building; it was planned the day before and done at once by all the inhabitants.

342 With the erection of the gallery, the house is completely finished, and the Indian content and satisfied. In present-day buildings care is taken to place the door, or entry, at one end of the house which corresponds to the gallery, and many have two, one in front of the other, in order to have a way to the patio which they make with a fence of thorns for greater comfort.

342 The doors are of cane, which they tie together like mats, 28 but vertically, with ceiba bark or with cowhide thongs, which [322] are more durable indoors. If an Indian can get a cowhide, [824] he makes a door of Guayapa wood, or, as the whites call it, zacharrosa, or another soft wood, which he puts in a hole left in the construction; he makes another frame with its hinges made of the same wood, soaks the hide, and fastens it in this

/181 cont./

524 gallery two cords, tying at the ends a piece of cowhide 80 centimeters long by 30 in width, hanging about 60 centimeters above the ground. This is called Sabiuca, swing, and here the little boys and girls swing and rock.

562 Women sit on the ground in their houses and observe the
574 same custom when they go visiting. The man waits until he
576 is told where he should sit and always receives the best seat.
516 The woman does not wait: she knows her place: she arrives, does not greet anyone, leaves her bundle in a corner, if she has one, and then squats down in such a way that from near or far many women squatting like this look like so many carronades /camaretas/ ready to go off.

Matés

462 In the furnishings of Chiriguano houses a preferred place
241 is occupied by the matés, made of gourds divided vertically
415 through the middle. This is man's work: he plants them and
322 cultivates them in his field, and when they are mature they are brought to the house where they are allowed to dry in the shade and also in the sun. Some three months are needed for this or even more, depending on the season. Nevertheless, they are watched throughout to see whether a fingernail will penetrate the skin. When the fingernail will not penetrate, the gourds are ripe. Then they remove the first skin, split them, extract and completely remove the pulp, keep the seeds for the new planting, and, when they are clean, they let them dry for a few days.

462 They are put in a separate place, and a second operation
415 begins. With his Chiriguano patience, with a knife or other
531 instrument, the Indian begins to engrave whatever figures occur to him, such as tree branches, circles with grains of sand, squares, figures of jaguars, doves, lizards, dogs, chickens,

/181 cont./
462 415 531 bulls, deer, etc. If all this carving were woman's work, it would have but one name, Sacuarama, but since it is man's work, each figure has the name of the quadruped, biped, or reptile that it represents (2).

[825] 2. Thus they say Machoro haangalio, figure of a lizard. Yaimbe haangalio, figure of a dog. Even the men call the figure of a jaguar or a dover Sacuarama.

/182/ With this second task the work can be considered finished. Days or weeks are employed depending on the greater or lesser quantities of the maté. They now color all the [386] [239] etched figures with ground charcoal and paint the empty spaces with Urucú, achiote, making them firm with the Taragüirisi, which is abundant everywhere, then singeing them in the flame of the fire so that the pictures will never lose their shine and luster or the painting of carbon and urucú come off (1).

237 323 825 1. The Taragüirisi is a species of ant which is common in cold weather. Its length is not over half a centimeter and its thickness three. It moves about the small branches of certain small trees, where it leaves its speckled whitish excrement. All potters provide themselves with an abundance of this material.

Pottery

323 [462] [317] [484] I shall now go on to consider women's work, limiting myself to the most important, such as clay vessels and textiles. For the former the Chirigüano woman provides herself beforehand with the best clay, which she knows very well and even brings from long distances, if it is not found in the territory of the tribe. Naturally the potter not only wishes to avoid the loss of her labor, but also, insofar as she can, she wishes to

/186 cont./

323 [239] the force of the heat and remains over the paintings like a binder, without which they would disappear the first time it was used. The Taragũirisi remains on the vessels like a light coat of rubber and the white of the Tovanti becomes opaque (2).

2. When a pot is slightly damaged, they heat it in the fire and on the inside and outside apply the Taragũirisi, and it is as good as before.

/187/

Textiles

286 462 [294] Another important occupation of the Chiriguano woman is weaving the Asoya for her husband, brother, or son, and the Cutama for herself. For this she prepares the wool or cotton, spins it opposite the way the mestizo and European women spin, and then bleaches it and finally dyes it.

286 In order to weave, they set up two tall, slender forked sticks in the house, with two sticks across, one above and one below, and arrange or place the threads vertically, and then sit on the ground and begin to run the woof through, thread by thread, which they hit with a pointed stick of soto wood called Puca. This, to be sure, is time consuming, if the threads are fine, but, on the other hand, the work is very durable.

291 286 231 249 [184] [179] Ponchos, Asoya, are of two types, one of wool and one of cotton: the first are common from the right bank of the Parapiti River southward and the second from the left bank northward, because in the first region sheep are plentiful, and in the second, cotton fields. Formerly, before the whites introduced cattle into the region, cotton was cultivated everywhere, and from its product the men were dressed for ceremonies in their Tíru and the women in the Mandu, which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

4: Nino--254 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/185 cont./

291 The Cutama, which I have mentioned, has been replaced
286 by the Tipoi of the same form as the former, but made of
[178] chintz, blue drill, linen, merino wool, or corduroy; they also weave covers for their beds, but these are without colors, and an occasional man has a crude loom, like those they use in Europe with a comb, manufactured by themselves (1).

291 1. The Mandu is attached to both shoulders by means of two large silver pins which correspond to the luxury of the garment; on ordinary days they pin the Tipoi with large thorns, but these have been replaced by needles, pins, and metal clasps.

462 Other tasks of the women are carrying water, maize, and field produce for the kitchen and making chicha and algarroba mead, which we shall discuss below, putting an end to this chapter for now.

000 /186/

Chapter Seven

Chiriguano Clothing and Adornments

Introduction

/The first paragraph on p. 186 is omitted in the translation. Page 186 continues as follows./

Clothing, which should remind us of the fall of our first parents, their misfortunes, their sufferings, hardships, and their death, our hardships, misfortunes, and death as a consequence of that disobedience, is today used as an object of extraordinary luxury. All of humanity has converted clothing into an object of vanity, and there is no nation, no tribe, however abject it might be or might consider itself, which has not abused or is not abusing clothing and adornments. /The last paragraph on p. 186 and the first paragraph on p. 187 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 187. The remainder of page 187 follows./

/194 cont./

302 The flower of the Guambero, purslane, has the same properties as the carasapa, but it is little used, and they content themselves with just sticking the leaves on their faces, and this only at carnival time, the result being a gay set of dancers. Finally, the Indians have a fourth cosmetic, which they call Mboiaruco, or achiote of the viper. It is red, and they assert that it is food for the vipers, hence its name. They use it by rubbing it on their cheeks, which makes them a bright red.

292 [529] [178] As noted above, the ancient Chiriguano man, Ava, and the Chiriguano woman of long ago, Cuña, at solemn fiestas and on days /195/ of general rejoicing, after having adorned their faces and washed their persons, wore the tiru and the mandu, respectively (1).

1. If the Indian dressed in a tiru does not have breeches, guasupi tumbaco, he wraps his body from the waist down with a shorter poncho which comes to the calf. It is also of cotton, and the women weave it. It is called Tirupeé, or sheath that warms, "alias" wrap /abrigo/.

[286] [462]

The Tiru is a kind of long poncho, from which it differs because of the two openings that it has near the wrists: the hands are put into said openings and remain free for movement, and, the tiru fastened to the wrists, nothing impedes the motion of the one wearing it. It is spun and woven by the women, and the raw material is cotton. The tiru differs in color, some are black, others dark red, and others blue. The first color is obtained with black mud, Tuñúú, mixed with the resin of the algarroba, Piari; the second, with tortillo bark, Urundeibucu; and the third, with wild indigo, Caoguí (2).

[286] 292 386 [824]

1 [437] [178] 2. Today this is all purchased commercially, and the indigo plant, which is abundant in certain places, is ignored. They buy the indigo and the other colors, just as they buy for their poncho and their tipoi.

4: Misc--283 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/201 cont./

462 562 The woman among the Chiriguano is a true slave, and the man her master. His work for the family is limited to planting and weeding, as well as fetching the necessary fire-
519 wood. In addition, /208/ as a diversion and pastime, he takes his bow and arrow, goes out into the countryside and hunts, or fishes in a nearby river, spending the rest of his time talking with his friends, recounting exploits, telling stories, Miani, playing cards and throwing dice, even going so far as to bet the tipoy or cutama of his wife.

She, on the contrary, is the work horse of the house. She
482 carries the maize with her Aŋipoca, a kind of net, goes to
515 the spring and carries on her shoulders and over long distances some 50 libras of water, prepares food, makes chicha, cleans her house, spins, weaves ponchos, makes dillas, cares for her children, raises animals such as pigs, chickens, sheep, and goats, makes cheese if she has cows, and, as if all this were not enough, in the afternoon she sits down next to her lazy husband, releases his healthy hair, and as a distraction goes looking through that labyrinth for the insects which nest there,
562 without feeling any disgust. I am not talking about killing them, but about doing away with some with her teeth and making a snack out of others, a very simple thing for these women.

562 593 Everything is permitted for the man. He can play upon words and make lascivious jokes with other women, but this is not permitted for the wife, nor can she even cast a sidelong glance, which would be enough to cause her to be maltreated and divorced. How many things there are in nature! It is painful to see a mother with her four or five little ones abandoned to suffer hunger and despair, while the rascal of a husband with no just cause at all goes happily off with another, giving her the little that he earned and then getting rid of her at the first chance (1).

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593 586 1. When the man turns out to be too lazy, it is the woman who leaves him, going off with another, and the children go with her, because

/T19 cont./

855 The child grows up in his sight with all the imperfections of little lambs or kids, because that is also the way in which he, the father, grew up.

855 462 When children of either sex are still in swaddling clothes, they receive the care of the mother, the grandmother, or other women who may be very closely related. It is unusual for a man to take care of newborn children, both because this is natural in all the countries of the world and because it would offend his dignity. But when the child begins to open his eyes well and to have some understanding of external things, he takes it in his arms with all the love that the child in its innocence inspires.

But the one who normally cares for the children of both sexes until the age of six or seven years is the mother. She washes them, bathes them, puts them to sleep, moves them, takes them from one place to another, carrying them in the folds of her clothes. The father ably helps at this task when the mother cannot attend to it because she has others, or because she is busy making chicha, preparing food, etc. (1).

> 1. If there is no mother because of death or for some other reason, the man finds himself in a difficult situation with regard to his children and quickly seeks out a female relative.

868 School of Arms and Strategy

At the age of seven years and even sooner, the father takes special charge of his male child, with the girls remaining in the charge of the mother: he makes for his son a bow and arrow suitable for his age and strength and begins to train him, teaching him to use them and the way to aim and shoot (2).

> 2. The father takes his son to the woods, where he begins to hunt little birds, and, if he manages to get some, he takes them

/[illegible] cont./

health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently, and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection of nature (1).

1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where there are large rivers. Fishing is done by the women in the little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Pairoma.

/[illegible]/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and not a boy, the time to give up the ú ú of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother, and other relatives make him understand that for this it is necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip, Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ta-, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

Schmeltzkollekt E-0,4(1909-1909, 1912) 1801
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chaco SF9

C
Ce
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162
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Table 20.

Culture element that the Chiriguano and Chaco [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.

	Chiriguano	Chaco	Distribution favored by natural environment	Distribution independent of natural environment	Is used in the struggle for existence
Modern hut	+	+	+	—	+
Chair	+	+	/	—	—
Wooden bowls	+	—	—	—	—
Sugar-cane	+	+	—	—	—
Water-melon	+	+	+	—	—
Reeds for arrow-shafts (Arundo donax)	+	+	—	—	+
Pellet-bow	+	+	/	—	—
Cattle	+	+	+	—	+
Sheep	+	+	—	—	—
Horses	+	+	+	—	—
Poultry-keeping	+	+	+	—	+
Riding whip stock	+	+	/	—	—
Saddle	+	+	/	—	—
Tinder when striking fire with flint and steel	+	+	/	+	—
Clothes of tanned skin	+	—	—	—	—
Leather-girdle with pocket	+	+	/	/	—
Hairband with tassels	+	+	/	/	—
Straw-hats	—	+	/	—	—
Women with pierced ears	+	+	/	+	—
»Bolvica«	+	+	/	+	—
Tube-game	+	+	/	+	—
Dice	+	+	/	+	—
»Rifle «(plaything)	+	+	/	+	—
Musical bow	—	+	/	+	—
Plates with six carefully fitted holes	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets of cow-horn	+	+	/	+	—
Trumpets with mouth-piece of reed	—	+	/	+	—
Vessels with lips in rims	+	+	/	+	—
Brasier	+	+	/	+	—
Tanning	+	+	/	+	—
Staff	+	+	/	+	—

Schwabenschiffel 8-5,5' (1868-1868. 1913) 1920
1913 Chirgwee 1913
Chiwee 1913

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C
CE
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460
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Culture element that the Chirgwee and Chiwi presumably derived from the Whites.
? Tentative assignment. — Evidence dubious
/ Question not answered.

Lassos	Bolas	Bolas with stone balls	Bolas with stone balls and thongs	Bolas with stone balls and thongs	Bolas with stone balls and thongs	Bolas with stone balls and thongs	Bolas with stone balls and thongs
+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

5tNordenskiöld E-5,1(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Table 21.

Cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané presumably obtained from the Culture Zone in the West.
+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

C
Ce
177
462
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105

	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings	Distribution independent of natural surroundings	Of great importance in the struggle for existence
Wooden hook on which to hang their belongings	+	+	/	—	—
Spade (Wooden)	+	+	/	—	—
Bird-net	+	—	—	—	—
Wooden bowl	+	+	/	—	—
Wooden spoon	+	+	/	—	—
Coca	+	—	—	—	—
Poncho-shirt	+	—	—	—	—
Sandal	+	—	—	—	—
Woven girdle	+	—	—	—	—
Frontlet	+	—	—	—	—
Wooden comb	+	—	—	—	—
Pincer	+	—	—	—	—
Topu	+	—	/	—	—
Necklaces of green stones	+	+	/	/	—
Headdress worn by Chiriguano Women on festive occasions	+	—	—	—	—
Vessels which are intended to be carried by a string running round the vessel	+	+	/	—	—
Chunquanti-game	+	+	/	—	—
Chucareta- »	+	+	/	—	—
Quoits- »	+	—	—	—	—
Long wooden whistle	+	+	/	—	—
Round » »	+	+	/	—	—
Drum	+	+	/	—	—
Vessels provided with ears or handles	+	+	/	—	—
Double pitchers	+	—	—	—	—
Water-pitchers	+	+	/	—	—
Pitchers with a bulging neck	+	+	/	—	—
Calabashes with lids	+	+	/	—	—
Calabashes with burnt in ornamentation	+	+	/	—	—
Peruvian loom	+	—	—	—	—
Bodkin of bone	+	+	/	—	—
Property marks	+	—	—	—	—
Yandugua the parasol of ostrich feathers	+	—	—	/	—

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Cultural elements that the Chiriguano and Chané presumably obtained from the culture zone in the west.
+Indicates occurrence. —Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

Manufacture calls for technical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used.	Luxury.
—	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	—	—	+	—

S:Nordenskiöld E-S/(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Table 22.

Northern and Eastern Elements that, occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.
\+ Indicates occurrence. — Indicates absence. / Question not answered.

	Chiriguano.	Chané.	Distribution favoured by natural surroundings.	Distribution independent of natural surroundings.	Of great importance in the struggle for existence.
Maize-barns on piles	+	+	—	—	+
Hammock used as a bed	+	+	—	—	—
Seat	—	+	/	+	—
Mandioca	+	+	—	—	—
Urucu	—	+	—	—	—
Bird arrows	+	+	/	+	—
» » (special type fig. 6 E.)	+	+	/	+	—
Snare fixed onto a long rod	—	+	/	+	—
Fish-spear	+	—	—	—	—
Multi-pointed fishing-arrows	+	—	—	—	—
Fishing with poison	+	—	—	—	—
Wooden mortar	—	+	/	—	+
Round-Siege. »Urupe»	+	+	—	—	+
Great pot-spades of wood	+	+	/	+	+
Fire fans of plaited palm leaves	+	+	—	—	—
»Tipoy»	+	+	+	—	+
Rubber-balls	+	+	—	—	—
Souki-game	—	+	/	—	—
Panpipe	?	+	/	—	—
Game with maize-leaf balls	+	—	/	—	—
Vessels ornamented with finger-impressions	+	+	/	+	—
Bakairi-spindle	+	+	/	+	+
Baskets made of a single palm-leaf	+	+	—	—	—
Baskets with overlapping lids	+	+	/	+	—
»Arawak» loom	+	+	/	+	+

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,1 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C
Ce
105
177
462
511

Northern and Eastern Elements That occur among the Chiriguano and Chané.
+Indicates occurrence. —Indicates absence.
/ Question not answered.

Manufacture calls for technical skill.	Man's work.	Woman's work.	Used by men.	Used by women.	Used only by children.	Still frequently used.	Luxury.
+	+	?	+	+	—	+	—
+	—	/	+	+	—	+	—
/	+	/	+	—	—	—	—
/	/	/	+	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
—	+	—	+	—	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+	—	+	—
+	+	—	+	+

/180 cont./

the most common among the Chiriguano. Only those women who live with the whites and have adopted their manners and customs carry jugs on their heads.

Division of Labor between the Sexes

Here too, as among the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, each sex, as a rule, has its specific work, as we see from the following table:

Table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Chané and Chiriguano.

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Fishing . . .	+	+ (1)	Gathering wild fruits and tubers		+
Hunting . . .	+		Ceramics . . .		+
Planting, clearing . .	+		Woodworking . .	+	
sowing . .	+	+	Knotting nets . .	+	
reaping . .	+	+	Plaiting rope . .	+	
Cooking	(2)	+	Plaiting mats . .	+	
Carrying wood . . .	+	+	Tying hammocks .		+
Carrying water . . .		+	Leather work . .	+	
Preparing intoxicating drinks		+	Making weapons . .	+	

1. As a rule, the women fish in shallow water, the men in deep water.

2. Sometimes take part in the preparation of the hunting booty.

3. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

/181/

Ce 462

	Men	Women		Men	Women
Decoration of calabashes	+		Raising animals. .	+	+
Building houses	+ (1)		Sewing	+	+
Weaving	+ (2)	+	Basketry	+	
Spinning thread .	+		Day labor for the whites . . .	+	+ (3)
Plaiting bands . .	+				

Ce [464]

Ce [342] [842]

1. On the Rio Parapiti the Chané women gathered the material for the roof, that is, long grass.

2. Only in the case of Maringay.

3. Not important, actually only on the Rio Parapiti.

Ce [198]

If one compares this table with the one on page 94 /omitted in the translation/, one finds that heavy wood-carrying and the building of houses has been almost entirely transferred from the women to the men among the higher-standing Chané and Chiriguano. Strangely enough, certain industries, for example, the production of clay vessels, are women's work in almost every primitive Indian tribe. Similarly, the calabashes are decorated everywhere by the men, who also do all woodworking. The reason that the women too fish here is because a number of these Indians live on rivers with little water, in which only small fish live, and in catching them the courage and strength of the fisher are not put to any test.

Ce [171]

When I offered a
/182 cont./ Chacobo a
cigarette, he took only a few puffs, kept the smoke in his mouth for a few seconds, and then threw the cigarette away. Nevertheless, the Chacobo plant tobacco, but use it exclusively as a remedy. If a Chacobo gets a "boro," a fly larva, "Dermatobya," under his skin, he covers the fly larva's entry spot with tobacco powder and is then able to squeeze out the dead larva in a few hours. The Choroti and Ashluslay are passionate smokers. /183/ For them smoking is one of the greatest enjoyments of life. These contrasts are quite strange.

The Chiriguano and the Chané have extensive plantings which, in contrast to the clearings of the Choroti and Ashluslay in the wilderness, are well tended. In former times they used spades made of hard wood with attractive handles (Fig. 89), but these have now gone out of use and have been entirely supplanted by iron spades. Not infrequently the fields lie far from the villages, as, for example, in the Caipipendi valley. This is due to the fact that water is not available throughout the year everywhere in the vicinity of the plantings.

As has been mentioned, the produce obtained is stored in granaries built on piles (Fig. 84), so that it will be at least somewhat protected from rats, moisture, etc. These granaries are seen everywhere, except among the Chané on the Rio Pilcomayo.

The fields are fenced in with fences built brush-shaped, which are often difficult to climb over. There is no fertilization of the fields. On the other hand, a field that has been exhausted is left to lie fallow.

The time of sowing is determined by the position of the Pleiades, "ychu." When this passes across the horizon very early in the morning, it is sowing time. When the rainy season begins, everything must be sowed.

The men clear and sow. Everyone helps with the harvest, men, women, and children. Among the Chané in the Itiyuro valley the men sowed the maize, that is, they took care of the larger plantings, whereas the women were gardeners and planted gourds, beans, etc.

/183 cont./

The Chané and the Chiriguano are not great hunters. Perhaps in former times there was more hunting. Their hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow. For hunting wild pigs they use clubs; for ostrich hunts the boleadora /bola/, "churima," was formerly used. Snares and bird nets are also found. In former times the hunters wore /184/ a costume of leather cut in imitation of a European cut, obviously copied from the Spaniards (1). This

1. Viedma already mentions this costume, p. 181.

was not permitted to hang in the house. Formerly, also among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti, no meat could be cooked in the house; rather, this had to be done a short distance away. Boys are, of course, eager hunters of small birds. Like the men, they sometimes use clay-projectile bows.

There are hunting dogs specially trained for hunting wild pigs. In a Chané village on the Rio Itiyuro I saw how all the dogs had a red cross painted on their heads, so that they would not be bitten by a mad dog running about in the vicinity. It was truly amusing to see how these heathen Chané protected their dogs against rabies with the sign of the cross.

Batirayu told me that Chané men, when they go hunting, are not permitted to sleep with their wives the night before.

Fishing is carried on differently in the various rivers.

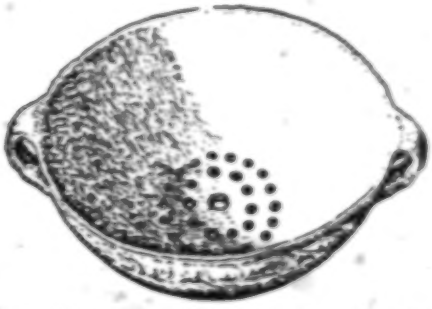
In the Rio Itiyuro women and children almost exclusively do the fishing. There are only small fish there too. I saw three methods of fishing there. Angling, fishing with calabashes, and fishing by damming up pools. The fishhooks consist of bent needles obtained from the whites. Floats and sinkers are not used.

Fishing with calabashes is done in the following way: Several bunches of leaves, which give shade, are stuck in the bottom of the river, and in front of each of these is placed a calabash (Fig. 90) with sour, ground maize (residue from beer brewing). The fish gather in the calabashes, which are taken out from time to time by the women. The latter creep toward the calabash, quickly place a hand over the opening, lift /185/ it up, and then empty the contents into pits along the river bank.

/190 cont./

It seemed to me that true mealtimes were observed here, the first of which was in the morning, the second in the middle of the day, and the third at sundown. 264

If they have an abundance of food in the house, they also invite in the neighboring households. A visiting Indian is very hospitably received. He need not leave without having received maize beer or food. In the Chané villages on the Rio Parapiti the Indians always served me a bowl of sweet potatoes when I visited them. Ce 574 Ce [123]



Ce 415 171

Fig. 92b. Upper clay-vessel. The speciman illustrated here is from the Mataco-Vejos, who learned how to use it from the Chané. 1/4.

The Chané do not eat donkeys, mules, horses, dogs, foxes, vultures, or monkeys. On the other hand, puma and jaguar are regarded as edible. Ce 262

Even if the women in the villages are not cooking, brewing, or tending their little ones, they are nevertheless always busy. At least one almost never sees the older ones among them without an occupation. They [illegible] make clay vessels, weave. I learned to appreciate the [illegible]men; I admired their loving care of the children, their industry, their maintenance of the home, their skill, and their taste. Ce 461 462

/234/

Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

Ee 178 527 273 [538] [805]

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Ee 273 415 527 531

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

Ee 584 [527] [323] [462]

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Ee [481]

411
[226] two barbed prongs made of some hard wood (figs. 213 and 214). The arrow in fig. 210, which has only one prong, is used both in hunting and
[824] for fish-shooting. The Chiriguano also use fish arrows pointed with a number of cactus spines.[1]

The fish spear has in later times become a very scarce implement with the Chiriguano. The only specimen obtained, as far as I know, is the one brought home by me, and now belonging to the Riksmuseum in Stockholm (figs. 215 and 216). Erland Nordenskiöld, who has compiled
[114] a map of the distribution of the fish spear in South America, has been kind enough to inform me that the only mention he has come across in the literature, concerning its occurrence among the Chiriguano, is to be found in the account of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's unsuccessful expedition against these Indians.[2]

The fish spear I came upon among the Chiriguano in the neighbourhood of San Luis, has a 260 cm long shaft, made of some light kind of wood, very free from knots,[3] at one end of which two barbed wooden prongs are lashed on by means of a thin leather thong. The full lengths of the prongs are, respectively, 32.1 and 31.5 cm, and they project 20.2 cm from the shaft. One of the points has, however, been of a somewhat greater length, but has got blunted off. Both points have seven barbs on their outer sides. To ensure a perfectly firm fastening of the prongs, the fore end of the shaft has been wrapped with a piece of cloth, and over this the prongs have been lashed on.

323 I have already enumerated the various kinds of Chiriguano household
● [462] furniture. Among them, clay vessels hold a very important place. The Chiriguano are clever potters. It is only the women, though, who work at this industry.

In fig. 217 we see a potter's workshop, with a number of finished and unfinished pieces of earthenware. At the hut entrance is sitting a woman, who, with a piece of stick, is giving a finish to a large pot, which has been built up of rolls of clay, and is still unburnt.

[126] In figs. 218—225 I have reproduced some typical Chiriguano clay vessels that I collected at Aguayrenda. These vessels are particularly well made. The peculiar rim warts seen on the hanging vessel in fig. 225,

[1] Nordenskiöld (12), fig. 15 a.
[2] Acosta (1), Part I, Chap. XV.
[3] Unfortunately, during its transportation home, the handle was, unknown to me, cut into two parts.

/86 cont./

The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting

/87 cont./

C 462 rope, making nets, plaiting mats and baskets, leatherwork, the manufacture of weapons, the decoration of cuyas and calabashes, and the building of houses. Only the following work is apportioned to women: carrying water, cooking, making fermented beverages, gathering fruits and roots, ceramics, making hammocks, spinning, and plaiting bands. The following work is apportioned to both sexes: fishing, with the difference that the women catch small fish in shallow water, while the men fish in deep water, planting and harvesting, cooking -- attributed in the preceding to the women -- in that men at times participate in the preparation of game, fetching firewood, which on most occasions is men's work, but among the Chané on the Parapití River women's as well, the raising of domestic animals, sewing and weaving, in that in some regions men also weave, although in general weaving is women's work. Children also participate, depending on their sex, in the respective work of their parents, particularly in the harvest (336) /there is no footnote bearing this number/, and in this way seeing and imitating, they learn from a very early age the work that they must do in later life.

C 361 592 I have already mentioned in the chapter on towns and houses that Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of only a few houses, each of them inhabited by up to 100 persons. Today, as a general rule, only one family lives in each house, but often together with the husbands of the daughters, who live for a time before the nuptials and also during the first part of the marriage in the house of the mother-in-law (337). The Chiriguano clears

337. Nord. 1, p. 176.

a piece of ground for his daughter, one which the son-in-law can work, doing the planting and harvesting (338).

338. Métraux I, p. 345.